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RESEARCH REPORT

STUDYING SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY AMBONESE MALAY: EVIDENCE FROM F. CARON'S SERMONS (1693)

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WITH A TECHNICAL SUMMARY BY J. ERIC MEYER

Introduction

Since 1980 there have been a number of publications about the history, grammar, lexicon, and social setting of Ambonese Malay. (See Collins, in press a, for an account of these materials.) Indeed, Ambonese Malay has found its way into recent books and studies about creolization theory (for example, Keesing 1988 and Holm 1989). This contemporary burst of interest in Ambonese Malay—a refreshing resumption of research that had been abandoned since the late nineteenth century (van Hoëvell 1876 and de Clercq 1876)—has frequently focused on the relevance of viewing this language variant from the perspective of creolization theory. Yet, interpreting a language variant as a creole depends most basically on reviewing the history of its development (Collins 1980). Some progress has been made toward understanding the history of Malay in Ambon (see Grimes 1991, Steinhauer 1991, and Collins 1992c), but these efforts have not been able to draw upon language materials from the earliest known periods of Malay in Ambon.

There are no known extant Malay language materials from Ambon as early as the sixteenth century.¹ The religious works written by (mostly) Portuguese priests stationed in Ambon during that century apparently have not survived.² Nor do we have wordlists, legal documents, *hikayats*, or even a few sentences in travel reports. It cannot be contested

that Malay was spoken in Ambon and, because of that, was also chosen for some aspects of Catholic proselytization, but until now no language data have come to light. Neither the sixteenth century nor the preceding centuries provide documented samples of Malay in Ambon.

The seventeenth century, however, yields up an enormous wealth of published and archival information about Malay in Ambon. The victory of the Dutch over the Portuguese fort in Ambon guaranteed the survival of a number of sources from the early Dutch era. Archival materials range from legal documents (G. Knaap, pers. comm.) to catechism notes (V. Loth, pers. comm.). Even the Dutch suppression of Hitu resistance indirectly provided us with *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, Imam Rijali's history of Ambon apparently written in Makassar where he sought temporary refuge following the defeat of the Hitu forces at Kapahaha (Manusama 1977). Rumphius (1741–1755) and Valentyn (1724–26) also noted numerous lexical details about Malay as it was used in that period. But perhaps the most striking examples of Malay in seventeenth-century Ambon are the many publications written in or translated into Malay by the Protestant ministers posted there. The earliest are the works of C. Wiltens and S. Danckaerts, who compiled both wordlists and Calvinist catechisms (see Landwehr 1991). Subsequent efforts by D. Brouwerius, as a translator of the Bible, especially of Genesis (1697; see Collins 1992a, 1992b), and F. Caron, author of sermons and catechisms, were based on lengthy residences in Ambon and Central Maluku.

These Malay language materials, both archival and published, have not been tapped as sources of information regarding the history of Malay in Ambon. This is surprising considering how important religious manuscripts and publications have been in the study of the history of other languages, be they Sranan or English. We can no longer ignore these materials if we want to make any progress in the study of the history of Ambonese Malay. We may doubt whether they accurately reflect the Malay of the period and place in which they were written, but we are no longer free to doubt without examining the data.³

This brief report will outline some of the steps taken to provide access to one such source of information: Franchois Caron's⁴ *Tsjeremin acan Pegang Agama*. The report will consider the author and the text, the project and its methods, and some preliminary results.

1. The Author and the Text

Among the adventurers who joined the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) was François Caron, who sailed to Batavia in 1619 (Boxer 1935). From there he was assigned to the company's factory in Hirado, Japan, where he steadily rose in the ranks, ultimately serving as *opperhoofd* in Japan (1639–41). Upon his return to Holland in 1641, he was recommissioned and promoted to councilor; in Batavia (1643) he successfully petitioned for the legitimization of the five surviving children born to his Japanese consort in Hirado. Franchois Caron (born in 1634), the youngest of three sons and his father's namesake, went to Holland where he completed his studies in theology and was sent out to the Indies as a Protestant minister (van Troostenburg de Bruijn 1893:87–88). Soon after his arrival in Batavia (1660), Dominee Franchois Caron was posted to Ambon (Mooij 1927–31, vol. 2), where he remained for thirteen years until his disputes with the local civil authorities led to his incarceration and ultimately his return to Holland, where he continued to serve as a Calvinist minister until his death in 1706.

His return to Holland made it possible for him to publish in 1678 the collection of forty sermons he had written (and preached) in Ambon. This impressive 286-page book, *Tsjeremin acan Pegang Agama*, was followed by the publication of two smaller books of religious instruction: *Adjaran dalam jang manna jadi Caberadjar Capalla Capallanja derri Agamana Christaon* (1682)⁵ and *Djalang ca Surga* (1683). All these religious publications were widely distributed and used in the Indies; see, for example, reports of usage in Mooij (1927–31) and Valentyn (1724–26). But clearly Caron's sermons played a special role because they were republished in 1693 and again, with revisions, in 1738 (Landwehr 1991). In Ambon, Caron's sermons were still being used well into the nineteenth century (Steinhauer 1991:200).

The sermons of *Tsjeremin acan Pegang Agama* were written not simply to document Dominee Caron's exhortations to his flock but rather to be read during the church services of those congregations where no minister was available.⁶ The forty sermons go a very long way toward filling out the calendar and liturgical year. They are organized according to religious themes and cycles, namely:

- A. Twelve sermons on the Articles of Belief;
- B. Ten sermons on the Ten Commandments;
- C. Seven sermons on the Lord's Prayer;

- D. Eight sermons on five Holy Days; and,
- E. Three sermons for special Church Services.

In the introduction to those sermons Caron specified that they were intended for the instruction of the Christians of Ambon, "who had first heard it from his own mouth." In those prefatory remarks, *Suara Agamma*,⁷ he also made explicit the kind of language he used in these sermons:

Liatla dalam Tseremin ini, tsjara appa patut pitsaja, idop daan menjomba, acan djadi moumin, **samoa Maleyo massing, catoudjo dengan wactou, tempat daan orang Ambon:** boucan agar tsjari namma deri pada bahasa tinggi, atoran pandei sacali-cali, daan issinja ca dalam, acan bakaboul pada orang acal jouga, daan sjappa meng'arti bahasa trus, tetapi agar bouca trang Adjaran Christaon dan peara camou-orang. [See in this mirror, the way you should believe, live and worship, in order to be blessed, **all in ordinary Malay, appropriate for the time, place and people of Ambon;** not to seek out a reputation for sophisticated language, very insightful argumentation and deep contents, merely to please intellectuals and those who know the language well, but rather to explain Christian Teachings and to sustain all of you.]

With the exception of the bilingual title page and prefatory remarks and the Dutch introduction, the sermons were printed in dense double columns of Malay in the Latin alphabet. See Appendix A for an example of this format.

Replete with biblical citations and down-to-earth expositions of orthodox Calvinist theology, as well as biting refutations of Catholicism and Islam, these sermons give voice to the sectarian issues of the mid-seventeenth century. But of even greater interest is the fact that Caron's sermons speak directly to the cultural setting of seventeenth-century Ambon in a Malay variant, fantastic in its fusion of Portuguese, Latin, and Malay, enriched with words and idioms still used in today's Ambonese Malay. *Tsjeremin acan Pegang Agamma* constitutes a unique record of the cultural environment and linguistic setting of Ambon in a period that was most critical in its evolution. Incontestably, these texts are of considerable value for social scientists, historians, theologians, and linguists.

2. The Project and Its Methods

In 1989, while conducting research for the bibliography of Malay dialects in east Indonesia (Collins in press a), I became aware of the existence of Caron's sermons, which are occasionally referred to in histories of the reformed church in the Indies (see van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam 1947 and Abineno 1956). Later, in 1991, after some weeks of unsuccessful searching in the library of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Leiden, K. Groeneboer and R. Hogewoning kindly directed me to Landwehr's then recently published survey of VOC-related materials. Landwehr's (1991) annotation provided immediate access to the second edition of *Tsjeremin acan Pegang Agamma* (1693) held at the KITLV library.

With the assistance and encouragement of the KITLV, as well as the financial support of Project Indonesian Studies, it has been possible to work toward the publication of a critical edition of Caron's sermons with an English translation, a glossary (including etymologies), and introductory essays. The initial work under my responsibility consists of two stages:

First, the Caron texts were manually input to build a computer database, and then interlinear Indonesian glosses were added to some of those texts. This was accomplished between January and August 1992.⁸

Second, these data were transferred to a format that allows them to be used more effectively to yield interlinear Indonesian glosses for each word of the sermons, as well as a cumulative glossary with line citations of sample sentences and phrases. (See E. Meyer's technical summary in Appendix B for more information about the computerization of the data.)

After this preliminary work is completed, Dr. D. J. Prentice of Leiden University will collaborate in providing etymologies for the lexical items and translations of each sermon. Work will also begin on an introductory essay dealing with linguistic aspects of Caron's sermons. Much of this work will be undertaken during the summer of 1993 in Leiden, where it will be possible to refer to some of Caron's other publications held at the Leiden University library.

3. Some Preliminary Results

These forty sermons present a serious challenge for analysis and translation. Certainly the Calvinist, and perhaps counter-Remonstrant, discourse—set in the context of Maluku's social upheavals during that

bloody era of conquest and suppression in which the sermons were written—is not always accessible. Indeed, at some points it is simply exotic. Beyond these broad discursive problems, however, is the language itself. It is a kind of Malay, rich in morphology, informed by Dutch paragraph strategies, profuse with rhetorical devices, bedecked with loanwords—especially from the languages of Asia, and bemusing with semantics long ago archaic. In the following pages, some initial analysis of the texts is made available. The foci of this brief report will be orthography and phonology, morphology and loanwords.

Orthography and Phonology

Seventeenth-century printed materials demand close inspection from readers. Because spelling conventions for European languages were not yet firmly established, a great deal of orthographic variation occurs and obscures. The problem increases when the language was not one familiar to the printer. Caron's sermon collection of 1693 is among the first twenty books ever published in Malay; so we can expect inconsistencies and, in some cases, printing errors.⁹ For example, several spellings of /bəgitu/ 'thus' occur, among them *begitou*, *begitu* and *begiton*; the first two represent different spellings and the last a typographical error.¹⁰ Witness also orthographic doublets such as *baic/baik*, *bintsi/bintsji*, *djica/djika*, *laki/laky*, *mati/matti*, *radja/raja*, *souda/sudah*, and many more. In many cases, however, variant spellings probably represent variant pronunciations. The text contains doublets that reflect variation in the pronunciation of final nasals, stops, and /h/. Compare some of Caron's spellings to pronunciations in modern standard Malay.

| CARON 1693 | STANDARD MALAY | GLOSS |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| adjaran, adjarang | ajaran | teachings |
| dagin, daging | dagin | flesh, meat |
| coubon, coubond | kəbun | garden, field |
| intan, intang | intan | diamond |
| toupon, toupang | təpuŋ | flour |
| ana, anac | ana? | child |
| banja, banjac | baŋa? | many |
| omba, ombac | omba? | wave |
| baic, baiboudi* | bai? | good |
| berole, beroleh | bəroleh | obtain |

* In Caron's text, *baiboudi* appears to mean 'Providence'.

These doublets suggesting variant pronunciations are matched by other evidence. For example, final nasals appear to have merged elsewhere in the text.

| CARON 1693 | STANDARD MALAY | GLOSS |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|
| badang | badan | body |
| blacan | bəlakan | back |
| bedjalang | berjalan | walk |
| binatan | binatan | animal |
| bintan | bintan | star |
| cabasarang | kəbəsarən | greatness |
| coupan | kupan | money |
| minjang | (mə)mɪŋjam | borrow |
| outoussang | utusan | emissary |
| talang | təlan | swallow |
| tangan | tanan | hand |
| temang | təman | associate |
| tsjavang | cawan | cup |
| tsjomboroang | cəmburuan | jealousy |
| toucan | tukan | craftsman |

Final stops are often lost, especially /k/, but sometimes /t/ as well, for example, *toundjo* (/tupjuk/ 'point at'), *tria* (/təriak/ 'shout'), *tencora* (/təŋkorak/ 'skull'), *maranca* (/məraŋkak/ 'crawl'), *massigi* (/masjit/ 'mosque'), *dara* (/darat/ 'landward, land'), *Mahoma* (/muhamat/ 'Muhammad'), *poro* (/pərut/ 'stomach'), and *tonca* (/tonkat/ 'staff, cane'). Final /h/ seldom appears in these texts¹¹; for example, *salla* (/salah/ 'wrong'), *tinca* (/tiŋkah/ 'behavior'), *pille* (/pilih/ 'choose'), *tala* (/təlah/ 'completive marker'), *coa* (/kuah/ 'sauce'), and *menjomba* (/məŋəmbah/ 'worship'). There is also considerable evidence that, at least in many words, the inherited mid-central vowel /ə/ in penultimate syllables assimilated to the vowel of the final syllable. Examples follow.

| CARON 1693 | STANDARD MALAY | GLOSS |
|------------|----------------|----------|
| coubon | kəbun | garden |
| tecodjut | təkəjut | startled |
| lombot | ləmbut | soft |
| ponou | pənuh | full |
| poro | pərut | stomach |
| sombo | səmbuh | healed |
| todo | təduh | calm |
| togo | təguh | firm |

| | | |
|---------|-------|-------------------|
| toubous | təbus | redeem |
| toupong | təpuŋ | flour |
| kitsil | kəcil | small |
| bintsi | bəŋci | hate |
| tala | təlah | completive marker |
| lacet | ləkat | adhere |
| talang | təlan | swallow |

However, there are exceptions to this generalization.¹² Moreover, the frequent loss of /ə/ between stops and liquids or nasals indicates the interaction of other phonetic rules; note *blom* (/bəlum/ 'not yet'), *bri* (/bəri/ 'give'), *cras* (/kəras/ 'hard'), *glap* (/gəlap/ 'dark'), *gnap* (/gənap/ 'complete') and *trus* (/tərus/ 'straightaway').

The merger of final nasals, the loss of final stops¹³ and /h/,¹⁴ and the frequent assimilation of penultimate schwa¹⁵ are of course features of modern Ambonese Malay (Collins 1980). Steinhauer (1991) pointed out that some of these features had already appeared in Roskott's nineteenth-century books printed in Ambon. Collins and Schmidt (1992) observed parallel spelling conventions in the Ternate Malay lists of 1599. It is not unreasonable to assume that some of the patterns that we observe in Caron's sermons of 1693 represent certain phonological patterns of Ambonese Malay as they were emerging in the seventeenth century. Moreover, these data imply a continuity¹⁶ from the kind of Malay used in sixteenth-century Maluku (Collins and Schmidt 1992) through the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries until today.

Morphology

Even at this early stage in the analysis of Caron's sermons, it is clear that affixational morphology played an important role in the grammar of these texts. Approximately fifteen affixes have been noted, including verbal affixes, such as *ma-*, *meng-*, *ba-* (*ber-/bar-*), *ca-*, *ta-* (*ter-*), *-ken*, *-acan*, and *-i*, as well as nominal affixes, such as *-an* (*-ang*), *ca-*, *ca-* *-an*, *sa-*, *-nja*, *sa-* *-nja*, *sa-* *-an*, *pang-* (*peng-*), and *pang-* *-an*. Other combinations can occur too, including *ba-* *-an*, *ba-* *-acan*, *menber-*, and *meng-* *-an*. Full reduplication occurs frequently, although partial reduplication does not seem productive.¹⁷ Despite the presence of productive morphology in the text, Caron's sermons do not contain a single example of the modern prefix *di-*. The fact that this absence of *di-* parallels modern colloquial Ambonese Malay (Collins 1980) as well as 1599 Ternate Malay (Collins and Schmidt 1992) again suggests historical continuity.

The variation in the phonetic shape of some affixes does not appear to reflect allomorphic alternation. Rather, in these cases, variation points to divergent, multiple sources for these affixes. Among the most striking examples are the affixes *-ken* and *-acan*. We note the following pairs.

| CARON 1693 | STANDARD MALAY | GLOSS |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| hormatken, hormatacan | hormatkan | pay respect to |
| mendjaddiken, jaddiacan | (men)jadikan | cause to be |
| antarken, antarkan | antarkan | send off |
| ilangkan, ilangacan | hilangkan | cause to disappear |

These pairs suggest two kinds of competing forms. First, the Javanese affix */-kən/* (Soepomo 1982) appears frequently in the text, seeming to compete with the Malay affix */-akan/*, which is still found in many Malay dialects, for example Brunei and Banjar. Second, */-akan/* and even */-kən/* are sometimes paralleled by a third variant, */-kan/*. In modern standard Malay, in both Indonesia and Malaysia, */-kan/* has completely replaced */-akan/*, although in some dialects */-kan/* and */-akan/* are in complementary distribution.¹⁸ The occurrence of *-ken*, *-acan*, and *-kan* in the Caron texts indicates a period of competing forms from diverse sources in seventeenth-century Ambon and most likely elsewhere as well. It is probably not a coincidence that the modern standard Malay form is */-kan/*, which represents a Malay pronunciation of Javanese */-kən/*. It is also important to note that in modern colloquial Ambonese Malay no *-ken/-acan/-kan* affix occurs at all. Instead, *-acan*, which is statistically dominant in Caron's texts, appears as */akan/*, now reinterpreted as the third person singular neuter pronoun, 'it'. (See Collins 1980 on the evolution of this pronoun.)

In Caron's sermons there are a few occurrences of the affix *pang-* which, when prefixed to verbs, yields agents or instrumental nominals.

| CARON 1693 | STANDARD MALAY | GLOSS |
|------------|----------------|---------------------|
| pangadjar | pəŋajar | teacher, instructor |
| pang-sixa | pəŋiksa | torturer |
| pantsjouri | pəŋcuri | thief |

However, far more productive is the affix *djure-* or *jure-*, which also yields agentive nominalizations.¹⁹ A partial list follows.

| CARON 1693 | GLOSS |
|--------------|--------------|
| djurebassa | spokesperson |
| djurebacatta | speaker |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| djurehouccum | prosecutor |
| djureloukis | painter |
| djuremengadou | complainant |
| djuresabda | speaker |
| djuretabib | healer |
| djuretongou | registrar, supervisor |
| djuretouboussan | redeemer |
| jurebadammey | conciliator |
| juremandi | baptizer |
| juretsjoba | tempter |

Caron's *djure-/jure-* should be compared to standard Malay *juru-*, which is still used in a limited number of words, such as *juruacara* 'master of ceremonies', *jurubicara* 'spokesperson', *jurumudi* 'helmsman', and *jururawat* 'nurse'.²⁰ However, neither *pang-* nor *djure-/jure-* are productive in modern colloquial Ambonese Malay.

In fact, many affixes used in Caron's sermons have been lost. They are either no longer productive or have been reinterpreted and reclassified (see /akan/ above). Of the fifteen affixes of Caron's text listed above, probably only *ba-*, *ta-*, *sa-*, and *-an/-an* are productive in today's Ambonese Malay (Collins 1980). That the process of discarding and reinventing affixes may have already begun in the mid-seventeenth century is suggested by the apparently moribund nature of *pang-* in Caron's sermons. Similarly, other morphological phenomena in the sermons, namely the very infrequent appearance of *pang-* *-an* nominalizations, the rare occurrence of transitive *meng-* verbs, and the frequent failure of the homorganic adjustment rule to interact with verbs,²¹ all support the hypothesis that in seventeenth-century Ambon the affixational morphology inherited from Malay and still attested to in late sixteenth-century Malay in Maluku (Collins and Schmidt 1992) was undergoing the dramatic changes that have resulted in the reduced affixational system of modern Ambonese Malay.

Loanwords and Etymology

Caron's sermons display a sophisticated vocabulary suitable for the subtlety of scholastic Calvinism as well as the pietistic strains of Voetius.²² Elevated language larded with scriptural citations is interlarded with earthy speech featuring samples of unacceptable curses or lists of typical ways to commit murder, adultery, and theft. Caron's theological vocabulary draws on the Arabic and Sanskrit terminology of Malay as well as

Portuguese and Latin terms that were probably already in use during the Portuguese (Catholic) period. With the exception of some biblical toponyms and personal names, there are very few words of Dutch origin. In the mid-seventeenth century, when these sermons were written, loanword sources were still likely to be Portuguese, Hindi, Javanese, Ternatan, and indigenous central Maluku languages.

Just as the survey of the phonology and morphology of these texts demonstrated variation and competition, a glance at the vocabulary also reveals competing semantic doublets. The following list shows a few pairs of competing forms found in the sermons, together with the contemporary Ambonese Malay words with the same meanings.

| CARON 1693 COMPETING FORMS | | AMBON MALAY | GLOSS |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Abraham (< Du) | Ibrahim (< MI < Ar) | Abrang, Abrahang | Abraham |
| Jesus (< Lt) | Isa (< MI < Ar) | Yesus (Isa) | Jesus |
| Jacobus (< Lt) | Jambres (< Du) | Yakobus | James |
| Petrus (< Lt) | Pedro (< Po) | Petrus | Peter |
| Christaon (< Po) | Nassarani (< MI < Ar) | Kristen (Sarani) | Christian |
| baptismo (< Po) | mandihan (< MI) | baptis, pemandian | baptism |
| gouvernadoor (< Po) | salahacan (< Ternate) | gubenur | governor |
| rewajat (< MI) | pregesaon (< Po) | rewayat | sermon |
| mai (< Po) | ibou (< MI < Jv?) | mae | mother |
| vos (< Po) | pacanira (< Jv) | ose | you |
| telingan (< Jv) | telinga (< MI) | talingang | ear |

In a few cases, both members of the seventeenth-century pair have been replaced by a word from a different source. The Portuguese and Ternate words for 'governor' have been replaced by the more recent loan from Dutch, [gubanur]; the Portuguese and Malay words for 'baptism' appear to have been displaced with a loan from Dutch or perhaps a different Malay word. Nonetheless, it is surprising to see not only how many of these seventeenth-century words have been retained, but also how im-

possible it would have been to predict which source language would prevail.

An interesting feature of the sermons' vocabulary is the number of Malay words that are used to refer to theological concepts. Many of these may be traced to specifically Protestant theology and, thus, may represent Caron's own contribution or simply the Protestant ecclesial tradition in Malay lexicography as it had been developing since the early seventeenth century.²³ A few examples with tentative glosses are given in Table 5; standard Malay cognates are provided whenever possible, but are not necessarily the terms used in contemporary Ambon or in any Malay-speaking area today.

| CARON 1693 | GLOSS |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| arouah | soul, spirit |
| baiboudi | providence |
| berboatan adil | righteous deed |
| cawoul | covenant |
| djumahan petang | communion |
| dosa poussaca | original sin |
| dosa maot | deadly sin |
| fermang | word (of God) |
| hodjat | blaspheme |
| idopan tercacal | eternal life |
| ikhtiar | intention |
| jadian maot daan bangonan | death and resurrection |
| medja batou | stone tablets |
| menjassal | repent |
| morit | disciple |
| moumin acan | justify |
| penjouroan | commandment |
| radjat surgani | heavenly kingdom |
| rewajat | sermon |
| sahittan | testimony |
| sakti | holy |
| toucar hati | experience metanoia |

Another aspect of these sermons that attracts our attention is the occurrence of words borrowed from the languages of Ambon Island. We can infer from Caron that in his era, at least in the villages, indigenous languages were still spoken, because in one of his sermons he opined that future dominees should study not only Malay but also the language

of Ambon. Caron himself may have had some familiarity with the indigenous languages of Ambon. In his denunciation of false gods and demonism, *Rewajat Jang I: Pada Penjouroan Bermoula*, Caron delineated a wide range of idolatrous practices including two customs of the people of Ambon themselves:

... daan orang Ambon mimpi deri **Nitou**, hormat pada **Lanit** Boumi.
[... and the people of Ambon dream of *nitou*, pay homage to *lanit bumi*.]

What Caron referred to in passing here in this passage, Valentyn (1724–26, vol. 3:2, 6) described in some detail, namely the worship of “*Nitoes of Duivels*” and the construction of bamboo fetishes given the name “*Lanit of den Hemel*.” Although the indigenous languages of the Christian villages of Ambon are now extinct (Collins 1980),²⁴ Central Maluku languages are still spoken in the Muslim villages of the island. Examining data (Collins in press b) from the language of Asilulu, a village on the northwest coast of Ambon, for example, yields definitions for both of Caron's terms and a confirmation that these are indigenous words:

nitou the spirits of the ancestors, especially those associated with specific places in the forest; in some collocations, malevolent spirits.

lanit sky²⁵

The fusion of Portuguese, Latin, Malay, Javanese, Ternatan, Hindi, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Central Maluku words mirrors the turmoil of Caron's times, as well as the polyglot nature of the society forming around the fort in Ambon; see Knaap (1991) for demographic assessments of Ambon's population in the seventeenth century. Still more, Caron's manipulation of diverse lexical sources reflects his own efforts to communicate the principles of orthodox Calvinism. The variant of Malay used in Ambon was undergoing enormous changes both in its formal structure and its sociocultural role (see Collins 1992c). Caron's lexicon is a testimony to the vitality of this process and a major factor in the subsequent formation of Ambonese Malay.

Conclusion

Three hundred years have passed since the publication of the second edition of Caron's sermons. Although these sermons were written in the midst of the most critical period in the evolution of modern Ambonese society and were used as a major source of religious instruction well into

the nineteenth century, Werndly (1736), who treated these materials in his survey of Malay literature, and Steinhauer (1991), who devoted twenty lines of his essay on Malay in Ambon to Caron, have been the only language scholars even to touch upon these texts as an appropriate topic for language study! For almost three hundred years, linguists and scholars of Malay literature have ignored the evidence of *Tsjeremin acan Pegang Agamma*.

In this brief report of research in progress, we can only present a rough outline of the text involved, the project's history, and some of its tentative findings. No comprehensive lists or detailed background information are included here. This is a report of an on-going project, the implications of which are only now being assessed. Clearly Caron's sermons provide important information about the history of Ambonese Malay. However, we must not overlook their relevance to the general history of Malay. While classical Malay texts can be gleaned and analyzed for information about seventeenth-century Malay, the picture that emerges will be limited to a glimpse of a narrow range of Malay as it was used by the literati and the elite of the palace circles of Malay-speaking sultanates. Caron's sermons, on the other hand, enlarge that picture by telling us about Malay as it was spoken in the bustling harbors of polyglot Southeast Asia, truly the Malay of the Age of Commerce (Reid 1988).

The history of Malay has been painted on a canvas far larger than either *hikayats* or *rewayats*, but data from both sources can help us recover some of the sweep and the vastness of this great human phenomenon. No source, no matter how peripheral or exotic, can be overlooked anymore.

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NOTES

1. It is possible that the wordlist reportedly collected in Ternate in 1599 may also reflect materials from Hitu, Ambon, where part of the Dutch fleet anchored before proceeding to Ternate (Collins and Schmidt 1992), but that cannot be determined.
2. Collins (1992c) lists some of the materials that were said to have been translated into Malay by Portuguese missionaries in Ambon, but these documents have not been found.
3. Note that Steinhauer (1991:200) independently examined some aspects of Caron's sermons in remarks contained in his essay about Roskott's nineteenth-century Malay materials. Although his comments were brief, his precedence in treating these data is appreciated.
4. Here is retained the spelling of the author's name as it appeared on the title page of the first edition, "Franchois." This spelling also has the advantage of being orthographically distinguished from his father's name.
5. Landwehr (1991) attributes the editing of this publication to Caron.

6. Indeed, that was the usual state of affairs in the East Indies. Most congregations did not boast a resident minister and were usually visited but once a year. Boxer (1990:156) noted the chronic shortage of Calvinist clergy in the East—a problem even in the Netherlands itself (130–131).
7. Steinhauer (1991:200) translated the Dutch version of these remarks. It differs from the Malay version, which is more explicit about the intended audience.
8. These data were entered into the computer by a native speaker of Malay, Darus Tharim, of Malaysia.
9. Similar problems were discussed by Collins (1985) and Collins and Schmidt (1992).
10. Another example is the quintuplet spelling of /cuci/ 'pure, clean; to wash': *tsoutji*, *tsjousi*, *tsjouttji*, *tsjoutsi* and *tsjoutsji*.
11. One of the consistent exceptions to this generalization is the spelling of 'Allah', that is *Allah*.
12. The occurrence of an orthographic *e* seems to be ambiguous and may sometimes represent [ə], the mid-central vowel, and sometimes [e], the mid-front vowel.
13. The loss of final stops in words of Malay origin, although already quite frequent in Caron's sermons, is almost regular in modern Ambonese Malay.
14. This yields apparent homonyms, such as *dara* 'blood' (Ind. *darah*) and 'virgin' (Ind. *dara*), as well as 'land, shore' (Ind. *darat*) by the loss of final stops; or *roussa* 'worried, angry' (Ind. *resah*), 'deer' (Ind. *rusa*) and, by loss of final stops, 'destroyed' (Ind. *rusak*).
15. The assimilation of penultimate vowels is quite frequent in Caron's sermons but less frequent in modern Ambonese Malay. (See Collins 1980.)
16. The term 'continuity' here does not imply one-to-one similarity; as noted in notes 13 and 15 there are differences in the two variants.
17. A recurring example of apparent partial reduplication is *lalayani* 'to wait on'.
18. The Malay dialect spoken on Bacan Island is one example (Collins 1983).
19. In some cases *djure-/jure-* is affixed to a noun; in other cases verbs. The latter seems more common.
20. In modern standard Malay variants, *juru-* is not considered an affix; instead it is the first element in a compound. There are no examples of root occurrences of *juru* in modern dictionaries, although I have found some collocations with *juru* (see below), and the affixed form *kejuruan* 'vocation' does occur. Note, however, that in Caron the spelling of *jure-* suggests a reduced

pronunciation of [jurə], indicating, perhaps, an affix relationship to the root to which it is attached. It is worth observing that, although the use of *juru-* in modern Malay variants seems to be less productive, precisely in translations of the bible, *juru* is likely to appear, for example, in the collocation *juru minum agung* 'chief wine steward'.

21. For example, *menbajar* 'pay' (Ind. *məmbayar*), *menpoutousken* 'decide' (Ind. *məmutuskan*), and *menlepasan* 'release' (Ind. *mələ-paskan*).
22. Caron completed his theological studies at Utrecht and was thus acquainted with the works of the leading theologian there, Gisbertus Voetius, a leader in the pietistic movement (see Balmer 1989:108, Schenkveld 1991: 48–49).
23. The decision to use Malay for Calvinist proselytization was made quite early, albeit somewhat reluctantly, so Dutch-speaking ministers and others had developed a religious vocabulary over many years. Even in the 1660s, when these sermons were presumably written, Caron already had access to numerous catechisms, bible translations, and other pious works in printed and manuscript form; see Landwehr (1991) for a chronology of the published materials. In fact, some of the scriptural texts cited by Caron in his sermons may have been taken in toto from others' translations. This may account for some, but not all, of the orthographic variation.
24. As noted in Collins (1980) and elsewhere, there are some very old speakers of Allang, a language formerly spoken in the village by that name on the west coast of Ambon. However, although these elderly persons can recall the indigenous language with a high degree of accuracy, it is no longer spoken in the village. Note, too, that Batumerah, a Muslim suburb of Ambon city, lost its language within the last 100 years.
25. The Malay word /lanjit/ 'sky' appears in Caron's sermons as *langit*, that is not with a capital L and always with *ng* to represent /ŋ/. Malay /lanjit/ is cognate with Asilulu /lanit/.

APPENDIX A: FORMAT OF ORIGINAL TEXTS

This photograph was produced by the Afdeeling Documentatie Geschiedenis Indonesië of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

Fol. 3

REW AJAT JANG I.

Pada

PENJOUROAN BERMOULA,

*Aco i-ja Tuan Allah mou jang di calouarken camou deri tanna
Egipten deri rouma bacardjahan.*

Jangan mou mejomba Allah lain lain adapan mouca Aco.

Sjappa nang adda mouca tsjamar, bear dia bouang matta capada tsjeremin daan bassou sendirinja: Pon sjappa malam bedjalan di manna glap, bergouna tangelon satou acan bri trang, djangan falla djalan: Begitou, lamon cami mau kenal fael cami jang djahat, begimanna djiwa souda nadjis deri pada dosa, daan souca bedjalan djalan, nang antar ca Radjat surgani, haros bri matta daan ingat pada Sabda Allah, beriffi dalam Penjouroan sapoulo, daan pegang baccatahan Allah, selamanja manusia idop dalam dunja ini, daan tourut Sabda, seperti api di djalan, djangan lalou jang betul, daan lecat pada jang djahat. Agar orang Christon bole carawen trus apala patut tingal, lagi appa patut boat, beta dalam namma Allah facaran mau moulay mengartinja deri Penjouroan bermoula, nang babounji bagini: *Aco &c.* Ingatla pada doa parracarra.

1: Pada baccatahan daan gelar gelar nang bedjalan daulo.

2: Pada isfi deri Penjouroan bermoula.

p: 1: Dengarla daulo sahittan Mofis, *macan Allah souda catta baccatahan ini samoa.* Sabda ini sebout barangcali Sabda Mofis, barangcali Sabda Allah: Sabda Mofis, carna nabbi seperti souroan daan hamba Allah, souda menullis Penjouroan sapoulo, daan antar, pon beradjar pada oumat Israël, tida calouarcan ini deri outac capalla, hanja be-

gimanna Allah souda ator, begitou dia adda touter. Inila lagi Sabda Allah, carna dia souda catta baccatahan ini samoa.

Mofes pon tida, melaicat pontida, attau manusia djaddi pohon deri sabda ini, tetapi Allah djouga, Bappa, Anac, daan Ruah Ulcadus, catiganja fatou. Benar melaicat adda di gounong *Sinai*, talla sabda babounji, hanja djanja seperti oulobalang jang badiri decat Radja, acan tiop nanfyri, daan bri medja batou capada Mofis. Pon Mofes adda badiri adapan Allah, hanja seperti outoufsang Allah, daan pangadjar, acan oulang sabda, daan bri ingat pada oumat Israël baccatahan, nang Allah catta, inila Penjouroan sapoulo. Begimanna dia catta? boucan denggan moulut melaicat, attau moulut sendirinja, carna caduanja melaicat daan Allah arouah, daan deri itou tida adda dagin toulang gigit daan bibir moulut; hanja Allah deri pada cawassa souda djadiacan suara di tenga langit berator daan bri babounji dalam telinga orang Israël, agar djanja bole dengar daan mengarti. Pon dia tourong dengan tanda heyraan di poutfo gounong, gontor babounji, kilat kaliatan, adda mega glap, tabal, daan namphyry. Sjappa jang badiri di kaki gounong, adda minta, agar Allah catta catta pada Mofis djouga, boucan pada segalla oumat, djangan djanja matti. Inila sahitan Mofis.

Marela cami mendengar gelar gelar, nang Allah mau bri pada sendirinja. Seperti Radja daan

1 3

APPENDIX B: TECHNICAL SUMMARY

Introduction

During the course of more than six months of work on Caron's sermons, there has been an ongoing evolution in the way the computer has been used to analyze the data. This brief description is not overly detailed, because the steps involved in the final editing of the sermons are quite involved and tedious. For example, numerous steps are necessary to handle routine editing problems, such as keeping the gloss line from being separated from its source line by a page break. These details are not discussed here. The following description merely contains basic information about the programs used and some of the processing of the Caron sermons.

Hardware and Software

The platform used for this project is a Macintosh Powerbook 100, with a stock 20 megabyte hard drive, and 6 megabytes of RAM. An IBM PC is sometimes used, but the Macintosh has a clear advantage because of its rigid standardization of fonts and styles, strict correspondence between screen output and printer output, and the Mac's better memory management.

Programs that have proven most useful are AccessPC 2.01 (by Insignia Solutions, 1992), Shoebox 1.2 (by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1990), and WordPerfect 2.1 (by WordPerfect Corp., 1991).

The Glossing Stages

Computer input – The Caron document is first put into electronic form. Special conventions to mark paragraphs are inserted at this stage, since they are useful during later stages. An example of these symbols is the ##, placed wherever there is an indented paragraph. The document is saved in ASCII, commonly known as "text format," because it can be read directly by all text editing programs, or processed directly by Shoebox. An example of how the documents look at this stage follows. This example is from *Rewayat Jang I: Pada Penjouroan Bermoula*, whose title page is shown in Appendix A.

Sjappa nang adda mouca tsjamar, bear dia bouang matta capada tsjeremin daan bassou sendirinja: Pon sjappa malam bedjalan di manna glap, bergouna tangelon satou acan bri trang, djangan falla djalan: Begitou, lamon cami mau kenal fael cami jang djahat, begimanna djiwa souda nadjis deri pada dosa, daan souca bedjalan djalan, ...

Editing – Though the document is at this stage ready for glossing by Shoebox, it is helpful to edit the document, marking compounds and reduplicated forms before further work is done. For instance, The word *saorang orang* should be glossed as *seorang-orang*. It needs to be glossed as one unit, not two. Therefore, we go through the document, looking for compounds and reduplicated forms, and put a tilde between their constituent words.

Since the list of known compounds and reduplicated forms is quite extensive, we have automated the task within WordPerfect. A macro that links compounds and reduplicated forms was developed for this stage. Using a macro reduces human error to zero, and saves large amounts of time. After this editing stage the document is ready to be glossed.

Glossing – AccessPC is a utility which allows us to mount IBM disks onto the Macintosh and exchange files. With it we can transfer the edited document to an IBM PC, and gloss it with Shoebox.

Shoebox generates paired lines of text, the original text above, with the glosses below, perfectly aligned via spaces. Shoebox retrieves the glosses from a previously compiled list of word/gloss-pairs, and prompts for a gloss whenever it encounters a new word, adding to the word/gloss list. Shoebox also handles homonyms quite well, so *tuhan* in Caron's text can be glossed as either *Tuhan* or *tuan* in the gloss line. This program is the heart of the project. With Shoebox, a month of manual glossing can be done in a weekend. (Actually, Shoebox is capable of much more than just one line of glossed text. Up to eight lines can be assigned to the source line, with complex relationships not only between the source code and each gloss line, but between the gloss lines themselves. Shoebox also functions as an interesting database, capable of many unique data manipulations.) A sample of raw Shoebox output at this stage follows:

```
\tx ## Sjappa nang adda mouca tsjamar, bear dia bouang matta
\ig ## siapa NAN ada muka cemar biar dia buang mata
```

```
\tx capada tsjeremin daan bassou sendirinja: Pon sjappa
\ig kepada cermin dan basuh sendirinya pun siapa
```

```
\tx malam bedjalan di manna glap, bergouna tangelon satou
\ig malam berjalan di mana gelap berguna tanglung satu
```

```
\tx acan bri trang, djangan salla djalan: Begitou, lamon
\ig akan beri terang jangan salah jalan begitu LAMUN
```

```
\tx cami mau kenal fael cami jang djahat, begimanna djiwa
\ig kami mau kenal fiil kami yang jahat bagaimana jiwa
```

```
\tx souda nadjis deri pada dosa, daan souca bedjalan djalan,
\ig sudah najis dari pada dosa dan suka berjalan jalan
```

Formatting – Though the text is essentially finished, it is not suitable for analysis, since formatting codes generated by Shoebox are visible, and the source and gloss lines have not been differentiated typographically. Therefore, the text is processed one more time with the aim of compacting, and "beautifying" the format. Information such as the name of the sermon, the name of the computer file, and the date of its glossing are added for reference purposes. This is the end of the glossing stage.

Other Documents Derived from the Formatting Stage

Several routines have been developed for analyzing the Caron Sermons. We can make wordlists, indexes, and concordances of different types and formats, based on either each sermon or the whole corpus. These routines have been converted into WordPerfect macros for consistency of formatting and speed. The sample on the following page of a KWIK-format concordance was inspired by Proudfoot (1991) and produced in WordPerfect.

Conclusion

Using the computer to help analyze Caron's sermons tremendously improves the speed and accuracy of the work on this project. Keeping the documents in electronic form has the added advantages of easy storage and quick transfer via electronic mail to almost any university in the world. Many routines developed for this project have a wider applications and, in fact, are already being used in other projects.

KWIK-format Concordance from Caron's Texts

- 1.4 ...ada PENJOURAN BERMOLA, Aco i-ja Tuan Allah mou jang di calouarken camou deri tan...
- 1.6 ...rouma bacardjahan. Jangan mou mejomba Allah lain lain adapan mouca Aco ## Sjappa ...
- 1.14 ...rgani, haros bri matta daan pada Sabda Allah, berissi dalam Penjouroan sapoulo, da...
- 1.15 ...ouroan sapoulo, daan pegang baccatahan Allah, selamanja manusia idop dalam dunja ...
- 2.5 ...lagi appa patut boat, beta dalam namma Allah sacaran mau moulay mengartinja deri P...
- 2.11 ...: Dengarla daulo sahittan Mosis, macca Allah souda catta baccatahan ini samoa. Sab...
- 2.13 ...rangcali Sabda Mosis, barangcali Sabda Allah: Sabda Mosis, carna nabbi seperti sou...
- 2.14 ...carna nabbi seperti souroan daan hamba Allah, souda menullis Penjouroan sapoulo, d...
- 3.1 ...i deri outac capalla, hanja begimanna Allah souda ator, begitou dia adda toutor. ...
- 3.2 ...itou dia adda toutor. Inila lagi Sabda Allah, carna dia souda catta baccatahan ini...
- 3.5 ...ia djaddi pohon deri sabda ini, tetapi Allah djouga, Bappa, Anac, daan Ruah Ulcadu...
- 3.10 ...da Mosis. Pon Moses adda badiri adapan Allah, hanja seperti outoussang Allah, daan...
- 3.13 ...gat pada oumat Israel baccatahan, nang Allah catta, inila Penjouroan sapoulo. Begi...
- 3.15 ...ndirinja, carna caduanja melaicat daan Allah arouah, daan deri itou tida adda dagi...
- 3.17 ...toulang gigit daan bibir moulut; hanja Allah deri pada cawassa souda djadiacan su...

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REVIEW ARTICLE

RITUAL AND SOCIO-COSMIC ORDER
IN EASTERN INDONESIAN SOCIETIESLINDA SUN CROWDER AND PATRICIA HORVATIC
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Rituals and Socio-Cosmic Order in Eastern Indonesian Societies, ed. by C. Barraud and J. D. M. Platenkamp. Part I: *Nusa Tenggara Timur*. Special issue of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 145:419-566. 1989. Part II: *Maluku*. Special issue of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 146:1-126. 1990.

In 1989 and 1990 *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* published two issues devoted to studies of ritual and society in Eastern Indonesia, volume 145, issue 4 and volume 146, issue 1. The first part of this set contains nine articles on Nusa Tenggara Timur; the second part contains six studies of Maluku societies. As an international compilation that includes the scholarship of anthropologists trained in the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Australia, and the United States, this anthology is a singularly important contribution to the studies of Eastern Indonesian societies. Scholars who cannot read Dutch or French will delight in having more work by J. W. Ajawaila, C. Barraud, B. Renard-Clamagirand, C. Friedberg, and S. Pauwels available to them in English.

The stated goal of this two-part series is to make new material available and to advance the comparative study of ritual practices in Eastern Indonesia. Though there have been many recent studies on ritual in Eastern Indonesian societies, these studies are scattered in many journals and collections. Before these *Bijdragen* collections were published, there was neither an effort to compile studies on ritual in Eastern Indonesia nor any attempt to compare these practices in a systematic and holistic